1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
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PLATE 63

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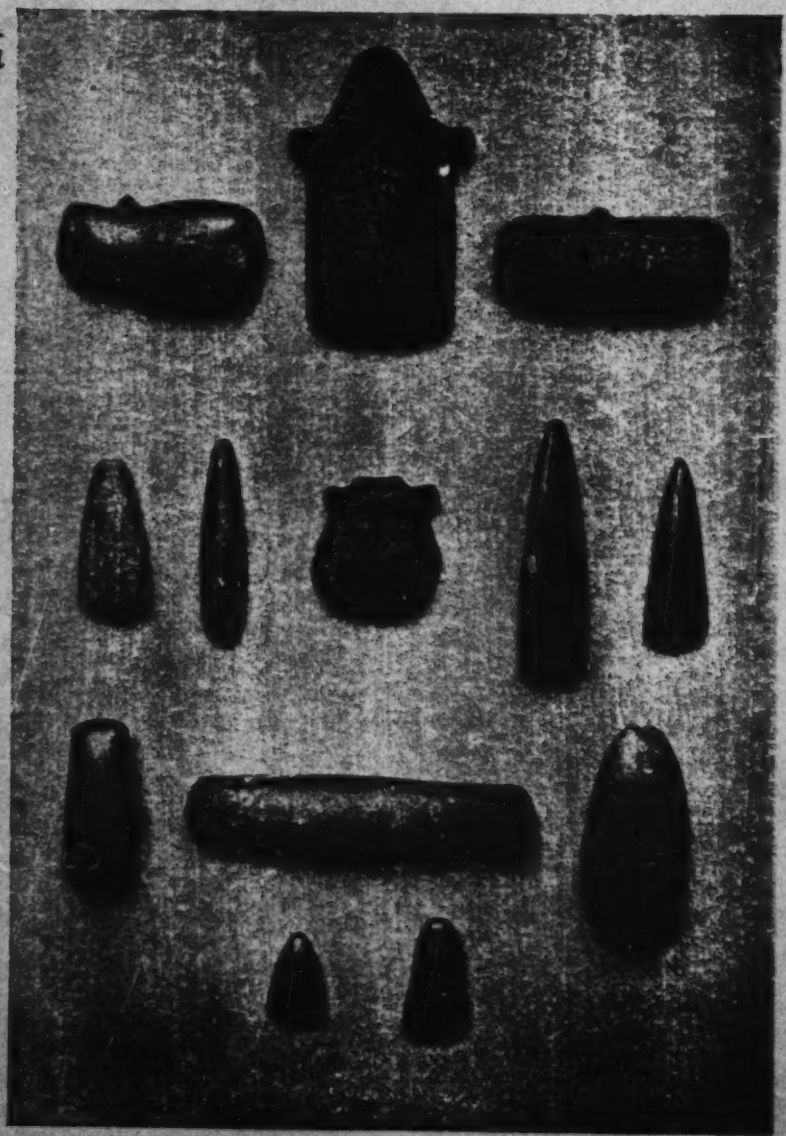

SOME TYPICAL STONE IMPLEMENTS

[facing p. 403]

285 them. The result is a basket with a very open mesh, with the holes in the shape of large polygons in even rows. It is called *amat* in [184] the Petats dialect. I did not see anything of this kind at Kurtatchi.

Plaiting, done by both sexes.

285 415 A third kind of basket is made by both men and women, by the simple method of taking a length of the leaf of the coco-nut palm, cut to the size required, splitting its mid-rib to form the brim, and plaiting the fronds together for the sides (Pl. 62*a*). The bottom consists of the ends of the plaited fronds knotted together. These baskets are intended for temporary use only, and are thrown away when done with. The women use them chiefly for putting cooked taro ready in the rafters or other convenient place so that members of the family can help themselves when they are hungry. The men use them to carry their pipes, tobacco, and the ingredients for chewing the betel-mixture. For this purpose the men make them with a hole in the middle of each side, near the top, through which they thrust their hands and wrists, for convenience in carrying.

342 The fronds of coco-nut palm leaves are also plaited together to make a covering for the ridge-pole of the huts, to block an opening, or to make a partition or a screen from the wind. The fronds on the left side of one leaf and the right side of another are stripped off, the leaves laid side by side with the sides on which the fronds still remain turned towards each other. The mid-ribs, laid bare on the other side, then form the outer edges of the matting, which is made by intertwining the fronds of one leaf with the fronds of the other (Pl. 62*b*). If a very wide piece of plaiting is required, three leaves may be used, the fronds on both sides of the extra one being intertwined with those of the two others, which are placed one on each side of it, the edges of the finished article being formed of the mid-rib of the outer ones.

NOTE ON STONE IMPLEMENTS

412 324 171 The stone implements of the olden days have now been entirely superseded by trade knives, axes, and adzes, which can be obtained from the planters' stores, or are brought back by men returning from indentured labour at Rabaul or elsewhere. But the use of these latter has been general only for about two generations, and numerous specimens of stone implements are still lying about the villages, some being used to grind the blades of their modern

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equivalents, others to crack nuts, or as weights, &c. The people know very well what they are, though I do not think any one now living has actually used them. They affect to despise their forefathers for using such awkward tools, but they admit that they themselves could not do with stone axes the work their forefathers did.

The only legend of origin in my collection referring to these stone implements comes from Saposa, where it is said that Morena gave them to the people when she taught the other crafts, teaching them at the same time to make more for themselves, and to make them also of the shells of the small clam and the giant clam.

The most typical shapes can be seen from the photograph (Pl. 63). The usual material is of a volcanic nature, such as is to be obtained in the centre of the island. They are called simply by the generic word for 'stone', *rako* in the Petats dialect and *wats* or *watʃ* in the Kurtatchi dialect; sometimes *wats pa ta kana*—'stone of times past'. I do not know of any special names applied to the different shapes, but as these differences have no longer any significance probably any such names as once existed are now forgotten.

At Petats I saw a few specimens of stone pestles (*akon*) similar to the larger of the two examples figured by Parkinson (1907, p. 498, Fig. 79). These are still used for cracking almonds, but the people say that they are too lazy to make them nowadays, but use any heavy stone instead.

I saw no hafted stone implements in Buka or North Bougainville, but in the Kunua mountain district of west-central Bougainville some are still to be seen, hafted with cane like those figured by Parkinson on p. 501 (Fig. 81). They are still valued by the people of the interior and form part of the ceremonial payments made in respect of a wife. When not required they are kept carefully wrapped up in fibre tied round with native string and packed away in the rafters or other place of safe-keeping.

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rocks called Kes, from a fancied similarity to a shark. These are not supposed to be connected with *urar*, neither is there usually any story attached to them.

STONE PILLARS

All the stones hitherto mentioned are natural formations. But there are also some in this area which show definite traces of human handiwork, being shaped like pillars, and, in some cases, having designs incised upon them. I visited five of these, and heard of at least two others which appear to belong to the same category. Unfortunately, the information I was able to obtain about them is very meagre.

Notes on the stone pillar at Yamē

Yamē is the island next to Petats on the north, forming part of the same reef. At the present time the whole island is being used as a coco-nut plantation, and there are no natives on it except indentured plantation hands, most of whom come from other localities. But once it was inhabited by Buka natives, just as Petats and Pororan still are.

The stone is on the south-western side of the island, between two rows of coco-nut trees, some hundred yards or so from the cliff-edge. It is probably not in the situation which it occupied when it was first set up. It was not standing when I saw it, but prone on the ground. Only a portion of it remains, a length of about 3 feet, the bottom part being obviously broken off. Its diameter is rather less than a foot at the bottom, its widest part. It tapered slightly towards the top, which was rounded. There were no designs on it.

None of the available natives knew much about it. One said its name was Tahuni, but he could give me no meaning for the name. Once it had a spirit (*masalai* in pidgin-English) belonging to it, but there are no spirits left on Yamē any more. Another native said it was a stone 'belonging to the mosquitoes', and that the Pororan people took it away on a raft a long time ago when it was a little stone; they wanted to use it as a pillow, but just as they were going to land at Pororan (the next island, about ten miles off) it jumped overboard and swam back to Yamē. There it grew large. It used to be taller than a man, but now it is broken. No one could tell me how it was broken, or what had become of the rest of it.

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324 773 From Mr. Airey, a planter on the Buka coast, a few miles farther north, who takes an interest in native lore, I obtained another story about this stone, which he heard from a Pororan native some years before: The stone was brought on a raft from some place a long way off in the days when the people had not yet learnt how to make canoes. Two women came with it, who were lighter in colour and quite different in looks from the local population. These two women went to live at Pororan, but one of them was always coming over to Yamē to weep at the stone for her people. After a time there arose a quarrel between the people of Yamē and the people of Pororan, and the Yamē people said the woman was not to come over any more. So the Pororan people came at night and took away the stone, but before they landed it a storm arose and capsized the raft, and the stone made its way back to Yamē. The woman still persisted in going over to weep at it, so the Yamē people killed her.

Stone pillar at Iltopan

324 This stone stands half hidden in the bush beside the Government road, rather more than a mile south-east of Iltopan. The name of the piece of ground it stands on is Hahapiri. There is a coco-nut grove—native, not belonging to a white man—there now, but once it was the site of the village. There are no coco-nut trees at the present time on the left-hand side of the road, where the stone is, but there were within the lifetime of one of the old men, Manapulus, to whom the place belongs. When he was a child the stone was standing, but a coco-nut tree fell on it and broke it into three pieces.

324 531 When I saw it, one piece, 2 feet in height, was still standing. It was firmly embedded in the ground, and seemed to go down for some distance. I could not find the end of it, and as my companions were somewhat agitated at my rooting about the base of it, I desisted. The 2 feet that remain above the ground are sloped at a slight angle, probably caused by the weight of the tree that broke it. A second piece, 1½ feet long, lay on the ground beside the standing piece. The top section, with rounded end, 3 feet long, lay with its upper end tilted against the prostrate piece. It was covered with moss and lichens. I was assured that there were no marks on it, but on rubbing it slightly I discovered a pattern incised in low relief, filled in with mud and moss so that it was invisible on inspection. I then cleared it completely, the men

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PLATE 77

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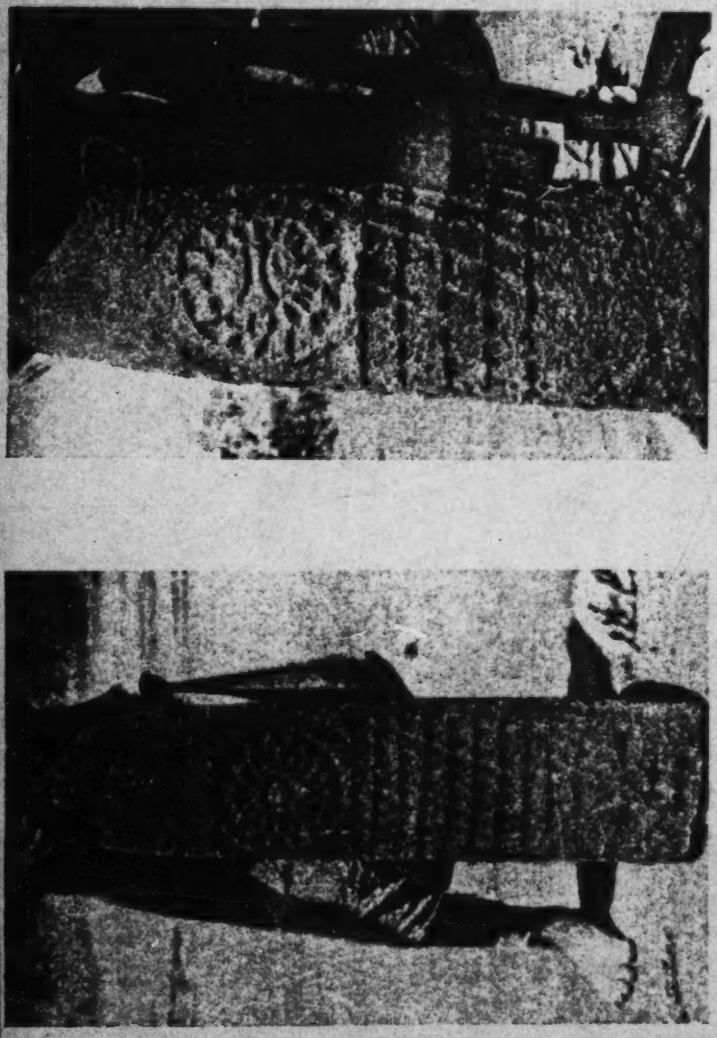

UPPER PORTION OF BROKEN STONE PILLAR AT ILTOPAN

[facing p. 532]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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PLATE 78

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STONE PILLAR AT TOHATCHI

[facing p.533]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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with me looking on rather dismayed, but much interested, and offering no objection. They call the stone 'A Pi'. *Pi* means a sore, and they think that any one who touches it will have sores break out on his body, hence, it afterwards transpired, their anxiety about my handling it. As soon as I discovered this, I told them that I had destroyed its evil power by cleaning it, and they were then emboldened to lift it out of the thicket of bush which grew round it and put it into a position where I could photograph it and even to hold it upright while I did so. There proved to be a design on both sides of it (Pl. 77 *a*, *b*). This was recognized by the Petats men who were my companions; they said it was called *gōm*, that the two parts of the pattern belonged together, and that in the olden days they used to cut it on their faces. (I think the word *gōm* simply means a design of any kind, not only this particular pattern.) They had no idea it was there. I took a rubbing of it in case the photograph should be a failure, and the Iltopan native who had brought me and my Petats friends to the spot asked me to make another and give it to him to show to his people, which I did. After I had photographed it I made them put it back into its thicket, but they carefully propped it up against the standing portion and left it so that its pattern was visible from the road. They said that now I had cleaned it they would not be afraid of it any more. As we left, the Iltopan native turned to the stone and said: 'Master, I am coming back presently. You and I belong to the same clan.'

Stone pillar at Tohatchi

On the Government road about half a mile north of the village of Tohatchi, on the east coast of Buka, some four or five miles to the south of the stone pillar just described, there is another, which appears to be unbroken. It stands about 6½ feet high, and is not quite circular in section; its longer diameter measures 12 inches and its shorter 9 inches. The name of the piece of ground on which it stands is Didirowan. It is, however, apparently not in its original position, but was set up by the roadside comparatively recently; owing to the fact that these people do not know how to measure time they could give me no idea how long ago, but it was within living memory. They said also that some boys brought it from Lontis (on the north-west corner of Buka) 'when it was a little stone, about so high (measuring a length of about a foot)', and that it used to be inside their houses; they called it their child and played

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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324 776 with it. But one day the spirits who live in the bush came and took it away and hid it in the bush. There it remained till it was found and brought to its present position.

324 552 The name of the stone was given by the local men who showed it to me as Ginagon, but a Tohatchi man at Yamē, who first told me of its existence, called it Ginoput. When I asked the local men about this they said it was all the same. They could give me no explanation of the name.

324 531 The stone is much discoloured, and covered with fungus and lichens, which somewhat mask, without concealing, several incised designs, not as deeply cut or as well executed as those on the stone at Iltopan, and differently arranged, as will be seen from the photograph (Pl. 78). The natives said the marks had been made when the stone was a little stone; then the marks were small too; now that the stone is big the marks have grown with it.

My companions from Petats, who had not seen the stone before, recognized one of the patterns, which they called *kalu*, saying it was one which they used to cut on their foreheads, before they gave up the practice of cicatrization at the wish of the mission. This one was on the side of the stone. When I subsequently showed a drawing of the designs on the stone to the people of Kurtatchi they compared it to their own design called *lalōm*, which they cut on the back of the neck of persons of rank (see Pl. 70 *b*).

As well as these designs, which are evidently of some antiquity, there are many recent scratches. These the people of Tohatchi [824] say they make at the present time, to measure their height, as we used to do on the lintel of the nursery door. One of the men stood beside his mark to show me what they did. They had no feelings of awe or fear in regard to the stone, such as were plainly felt towards that at Iltopan, and it was evidently not credited with any magical power. The most careful investigation during my subsequent visit to Totatchi failed to elicit any more information about it.

Stone pillar at Lonahan

324 Still farther down the coast, and again on the Government road, near the village of Lonahan, just north of Malasang, there is the remains of another pillar (Pl. 79 *b*). It shows signs of mutilation, and there is a tale that a man hacked it with an axe. Also it is much weathered. It appears once to have been a round pillar similar to the others, but now tapers much more sharply to a point than it

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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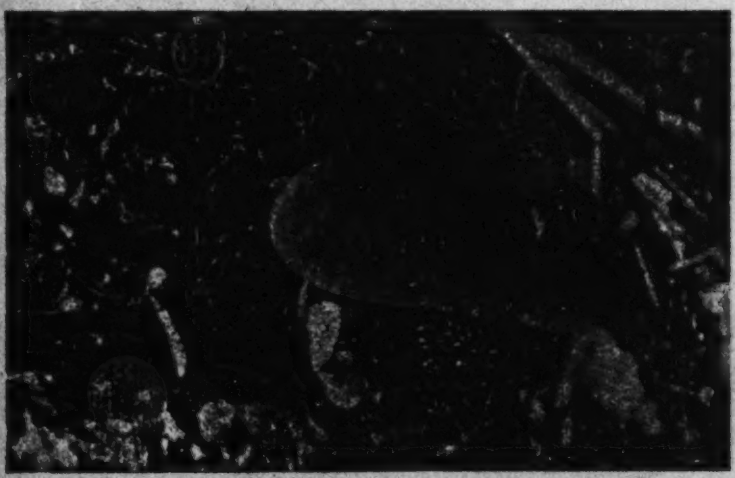
PLATE 79

b. STONE AT LONAHAN



a. 'MUBENOITS'

[facing p 534]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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Kurtatchi

PLATE 80

●324

STONES AT TIOP

[facing p. 535]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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must once have done. About 3½ feet of it remain. It is propped up against a tree; they say it used once to stand up beside it. Down one side run a series of shallow depressions, which may or may not be the work of nature. There is no sign of any incised pattern on it.

When the story of Tchinaleke (see p. 530) was told me at Kurtatchi, this stone, leaning against its *tsiniv* tree (the kind of which dug-out canoes are made) was clearly indicated as the one which represented the woman. But on arriving at the spot, I was assured by men living near by that Tchinaleke was the stone lying below at the foot of the cliff, and that this one was called Pepes, that it belonged to the olden time, and that they knew no more about it than the few details I have given above. With that I had, therefore, to be content.

Stone pillar on North Bougainville coast

About half-way between Gomen and Ruri, there is a portion of a stone pillar which must have been originally similar to those on Buka (Pl. 79 *a*). It is in the bush, not far from the top of the cliff. Only 2½ feet of it are standing; it appears to be the top section of a pillar, since its end is rounded like all the others. It is said to go down a long way into the ground. If all the men of the village tried to move it they could not. But once the Hahon, the people of the mountains, enemies of the coast people, stole it. Having succeeded in getting it out of the ground, they slung it on a pole as the natives do pigs, and a large number of them carried it. But the pole broke. They cut a thicker tree, but that broke too. Then they cut a very large tree, all the men they had could scarcely carry it, but that broke too, and at night, while they were encamped, the stone made its way back. There are two little stones beside it, rounded either by rubbing or by the action of water; I could not be sure whether they were pieces broken off the big one or not. They are called its children. Once the people of Ratsoa (a village a short way into the foot-hills) carried them away in a pack with some ceremonial currency, but when they got home and opened their pack the stones were not in it; the *urar* had brought them back to their mother. The owner of the stone was angry with the Ratsoa people, and raided the village; then he put the little stones back in their places and made a feast.

The stone is called Mubenoits. One of the men of the village—the father of one of the present inhabitants, who is now an old man

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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324 —found it in the ground. He set it up in front of his house, which used to stand where the stone now is; the place was once the site of a village. The *tsunaun* of the village gave the man who found it some ceremonial currency for it. He put paint on it, and made a big feast, and gave the stone to Nawi, his sister's daughter, when she was a baby. Nawi is now a girl of about thirteen. The ceremony held when such a stone is given to a child is called *Wawaluŋ*. There were traces of red paint on it and on the little stones. Pinari said that the paint was put on in the same pattern as was used on the heads of the people on ceremonial occasions, a line of black down the middle with broad bands of red on both sides of it. They also put coco-nut oil on the stone, and decorate it with flowers and leaves. Before doing this they kill a pig and cook it, and wash the stone in the water.

776 Nawi has not seen it yet. When she wishes to look at it for the first time she will have to make a feast and take some food and give it to the stone, and the *urar* of the stone will eat it. Then if Nawi wishes to remove the stone and put it in front of her house in the present village of Kurtatchi, it will be all right, but if any one else moved it, it would find its way back.

Stone pillars (?) reported but not visited

324 I was told that there is a stone pillar, said to be similar to the one at Yamē, at Raua Plantation, on the coast of Bougainville several miles to the east of Kurtatchi. Another is reported on the west coast of Buka, near the R.C. Mission at Bonotui. To my great regret, circumstances did not permit of my visiting either of these. As far as my informants knew, there were no designs upon them, but in view of the ignorance of the Iltopan people of the pattern on 'A Pi', concealed as it was by moss and fungus, such reports are probably not to be relied upon.

Stone monument at Tiop

778 At Tiop, an island at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, there is a group of stones which are not pillars, but flat slabs of limestone, apparently unworked. There is no trace of a design upon them. There are two large slabs and two smaller ones (Pl. 80). One of the large slabs stands upright, the two smaller ones, also upright, are at its base, the other large slab lies flat on the ground. It seemed to be quite firmly embedded, but the natives could give

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones, associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin. While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork. The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i) that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it 'made the milk come up' in young women.

The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual connected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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killed. In both the stone is washed, the one at Tiop with blood, Mubenoits with the water in which the pig has been cooked. In both paint is put on the stone, and food brought to it. But Mubenoits does not appear to be associated with the cicatrization of children, and the ceremonies held in connexion with it seem, as far as I could gather, to have been inaugurated some little time after what I take to have been its rediscovery in the bush, apparently about a generation ago. Whatever significance the stone now called Mubenoits may originally have possessed was clearly not known to its present owners, who adopted it as important on account of its peculiar appearance, which is in striking contrast to the shapeless chunks of rough honeycombed dolomitic limestone forming the cliffs near by. It seems clear that the Mubenoits ritual is not a survival, but a newly instituted affair. There is a certain amount of intercourse between Kurtatchi and Tiop, so the possibility of borrowing cannot be entirely ruled out. However this may be, there is perhaps some ground on which to base an hypothesis that the stone pillars and the slab-shaped structures at Tiop belong to one and the same series of monuments.

Without laying too much stress on the parallel, it is perhaps worthy of note that stone structures comparable with both of these occur in another area which, though distant, is known to have cultural affinities with Melanesia—the Naga Hills in Assam. There is, at Dimapur in the Naga Hills, a series of ancient monoliths, some of which carry carved patterns bearing a very remarkable resemblance to those on the pillar at Iltopan called 'A Pi'.[1] These appear to have been set up as memorials of feasts, a practice which is still in vogue among the Nagas, as an adjunct to sacrificial ceremonies 'which can only be performed when the giver of the feast enjoys exceptional prosperity', so that the posts now erected 'are associated, even if indirectly, with the fertility of crops and cattle' (Hutton, 1922 (i), p. 57). There is reason to believe that the ancient monuments also possessed a phallic significance, and that they were connected with sacrifices, probably human. I have no evidence that the stone pillars of Buka are regarded as phallic symbols at the present day, but from their appearance it would seem not unlikely that they may originally have been so intended.

[1] These are figured in a paper by J. H. Hutton (1922 (i), Pl. 1). I am indebted to Mr. E. S. Thomas, of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, for drawing my attention to the similarity in design.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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The Nagas also erect paired monuments in which one slab of stone represents the male and the other the female (Hutton, 1922 (ii), p. 243 and Pl. XVI) to which the stones at Tiop (which are also male and female) would be closely comparable in appearance, supposing the now prostrate stone originally to have stood upright. One of the reasons the Nagas give for so doing is 'that anything else is abhorrent to nature'.

It will be remembered that children are brought to the Tiop stones by their mothers at birth, and again for cicatrization; that the patterns on the two incised stones of Buka are the same as those produced by this operation on the skin; and that cicatrization is said to 'make the milk come up' in young women, and to render each sex more attractive to the other. These considerations lead me to put forward, very tentatively, an hypothesis that the stones at Tiop and the pillars of Buka and Bougainville may perhaps once have formed part of an elaborate fertility ritual, most of which has now been lost.

The existence of the stones at Tiop, and the ritual connected with them, came to my notice only at the very end of my period of residence, when I was unable for lack of time to investigate the question more fully. Further researches in this area might bring to light other pillars and more information if it is not already gone beyond recall.

BUSH GOBLINS

To complete, so far as my material permits, the account of the beliefs held by these people in regard to ghosts and spirits, reference must be made to a group of beings which must be regarded as in a completely different category from those hitherto described. They are never called *urar* or connected in any way with persons who have died. They are not regarded with the terror inspired by the *urar*, but with a mixture of rather shamefaced fear and half-affectionate amusement apparently somewhat of the nature of the feelings of country people in bygone days towards fairies, or perhaps, since they are generally more or less mischievous, they are better compared to goblins. They live in the bush, but are not associated with special portions of it as the *urar* in their various transformations are thought to be. Their doings and adventures, particularly those into which human beings enter, provide material for endless numbers of stories, which are always much enjoyed by

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
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539 773 Tchinaleke climbed up a *karao* close to the couple, and they took an axe and cut the *karao* right through, and she fell down, and her bones were broken. The man and his wife went up into the sky. Tchinaleke lies at Lonahan, she is a stone now, she is there always.

[266] Now all the people eat man, if they go to fight and kill some people, they eat them. But they do not eat their kinsmen.

[175] This story was told to me by Pinari, the old chief of Kurtatchi. I have an almost identical version from Sakwon, an old man of Pororan, besides several fragmentary versions. There is also another, quite different, story purporting to account for the eating of human flesh. The incident of people going up into the sky occurs in several stories.

[823] There is a rock at Lonahan, on the east coast of Buka, called Tchinaleke, which the natives say is her body turned to stone. It has a rough resemblance to a limbless figure lying with its head turned sideways. It is a natural formation, but there is a [324] stone pillar of human workmanship at the foot of a *tchiniv* tree at the top of the cliff just above. Pinari said this was Tchinaleke, but the local natives took me to the rock previously mentioned as the authentic Tchinaleke.

G. Camden Wheeler gives a version of this story (*Mono-Alu Folk-Lore*, No. 45) but no connection is indicated with the practice of eating human flesh, neither is the woman turned into stone.

Class III. Natural History Stories.

538 821 In this category I have placed stories accounting for natural phenomena, the moon and stars, the contours of the land, the presence of certain curiously shaped rocks, of caves, reefs, whirlpools, etc. Perhaps the following is one of the most interesting.

How the Moon got into the Sky.

539 821 The people went to the taro gardens. One woman was lazy, she stayed in the village doing nothing. Her husband